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or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared space is known as the *hiru'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

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Description of a buffalo hunt. Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Honewee* (Missouri?), Wasatcers, Iowa, and *Wadjudjajya*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

[727]

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

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A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):¹

[342]

Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

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● [203]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

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[762]

Pigeon hunt.—The pigeons are "chief" birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

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¹As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

²They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
 182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the
 Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions
 of the public erier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
 614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
 203 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
 182 extremely probable that the office of public erier was originally con-
 554 nected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated
 with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship
 existing between this clan and the chief clan. It must, of course,
 be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the
 requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number
 of warriors potentially public eriers. Its association with mem-
 bership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction
 of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of
 another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of mem-
 bership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in
 the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the
 development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally
 applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
 182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in
 developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as
 intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the
 Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions con-
 nected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association.
 In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It
 will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious
 functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police
 and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions
 of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the
 public erier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists.
 Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves
 readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the
 necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of associa-
 tion, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in
 each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the
 details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the
 chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
 [62] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preser-
 vation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war;
 the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within
 the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those
 relating to the office of public erier and intermediary between the

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the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

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The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

[682]

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up - i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

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Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

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The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.* For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

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Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

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* This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

RADIN

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

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Ma'jiwings	Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).	614 551
Ma'nup'aga	Second earth person.	
Ni-argadjiwings	She who plays on the water.	
Ni-amaniwings	She who walks on the water.	
Ni-a-p'wings	She who makes water good.	
Ni-a-lagwings	Still water.	
Ni-nuaga	Stream person.	
Nihuga	He who discharges water.	
Ni-ot'a'pwings	She who jumps into the water.	
Nidjowaga	Four streams.	
Niwak'itwaga	Reboots (?) water.	
Wakdjekirick'a	Bad Water-spirit.	
Wakdjexihuga	Chief of the Water-spirits.	
Wakdjeximaniga	Walking Water-spirit.	
Wakdjexip'ings	Good Water-spirit.	
Wakdjexim'wings	White Water-spirit.	
Hop'ings	Good horn.	
Wadjozoga	Big boat.	
Hip'ahiga	Sharp tooth.	
Rabawings	Beaver-skin woman.	
Rabowings	Beaver.	
Hojipga	Short horn.	

THE BUFFALO CLAN

INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cirik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans.

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however.

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members.

ORIGIN MYTH¹

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi-

¹ The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month
796 is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products
[805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The
[825] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The
favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they
can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product
of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and
have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month
they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and
others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have
[203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around
the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and
taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through
796 blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco.
537 My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who
is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we
could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we
have made an effort to heat water for him.* The first request we
make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our
grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit† and he told
him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked.
[782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles
full of food, and some tree sap.‡ So much will we send him, accom-
panied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will
begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has
finished the host speaks again.

[64] "Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you
filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use
your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they
obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the
people eat in the dark.

614 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year
796 it is given.

[847] The feast* was always given with some choice dried corn that had
been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the
feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

* Shell soup and prepared food in general.

† Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial or pretense for war.

‡ Cusumani name for maple sugar.

§ What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE RECEIVED BLESSINGS FROM THE NIGHT SPIRITS

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony.

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home.

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same.

RADIN]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS

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Description of buffalo dance and its origin. Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203] ●

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE GRIZZLY BEAR

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma-warap'uru. The ma-warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [564] [782]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WINNEBAGO INDIANS.

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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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614 dividual and clan *hitcak'vro*, on the other. In the former there
 572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of
 mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek-hiteyge*
 [604] relation, the individual *hitcak'vro*, and the clan *hitcak'vro* may
 be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the
 same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between
 the different individual *hitcak'vro* and the clan *hitcak'vro* is not
 unheard of. For the *hitcak'vro* relation of individuals this is
 [597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'vro* is generally
 adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
 [582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between
 them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak'vro* bears to the
 individual *hitcak'vro* relation of individuals, it is impossible
 to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and
 no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

614 The *hitcak'vro* relation is entirely one between equals,
 irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping,
 with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is,
 for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is
 entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship,"
 there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation.
 The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English
 word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service
 for another without that specific service being reciprocal.
 Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunder-
 bird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is
 not to be confused with the general subordination of all the
 other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise
 their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
 ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
 [203] expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
 [174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
 [621] which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
 ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]